X 515 361

/1923 cont./

Not only must the Kina hut be erected on a favorable spot and on a slight rise in the ground, but the dwellings of the individual families must also be moved together in a certain arrangement and be set up in such a way that they are not within range of the wide entrance to the Kina hut. The dwellings are at least 50 meters away so that the conversation and activities of the men cannot be overheard or observed by the women and children. The elevation of the Kina hut permits the men to watch and follow every movement in the camp proper without undue effort and unobtrusively. Above all no intruder may approach their secret gathering-place (272). The closer the

[111]

272. Basically, the local conditions here are the same as those required for the camp arrangement at the Kinkeson celebration of the Seik'tsam (Vol. I, 831). The gathering-place of the men is like the stage of a theater, with the dwellings in front and at a certain distance, as though they were the auditorium for the women and children.

dwellings are to one another, the easier it is to survey them from the Kina hut. For that reason persons who are closely related are definitely urged to move into the so-called multiple-family huts (p. 31). Two to four families thus live in the same room. This is not disturbing or uncomfortable for them because the men are almost always in the Kina hut.

4. Building the Great Hut

B 515 345

Scarcely have the families settled in the place assigned to them when the building of the Great Hut commences, following the request and directions of the leader. Middle-aged men willingly offer their services. First of all the chosen site on a slight rise is cleared of stones, low bushes, and many a /1324/ tree stump. If necessary it is also leveled off somewhat. The women and children may watch this work from their dwellings. Soon now on they may come no closer.

/1324 cont./

Almost every Kina hut has the shape of a more or less slanting cone, depending on the dimensions of the always circular groundplan. First the Yamana set up two strong trunks which mark off the wide entrance. Each of these has a short fork at the top, and the forks interlock. They are called mássiēx tāwina. At the place where the tops of these two trunks meet there rests a third, usually longer trunk which extends more or less obliquely to the ground toward the rear, which is called tēēlun tāwina (273).

273. Compare on p. 676 the term for the main posts of the Great Hut for the youth initiation.

This results in the more or less slanting conical shape of the framework, depending on how much longer this third trunk is than the height of the other two posts. If the groundplan is small to begin with, the Kina hut has a very regular conical shape. These three main trunks are the supporting framework; hence they are inserted a few centimeters into the ground. The two large free areas on either side of the opening up to the long center post are filled in with more or less thick trunks set close together. The men put each one on the ground, giving due consideration to the circular groundplan, without digging it in, and they lean it against the free ends of all the posts, forming a cluster on top. Each of these by its own weight helps to support all of them together. It is unavoidable that small gaps remain between the individual trunks. In order to fill them, clumps of turf are piled all around the outside, from the ground upward and against the hut framework, and pressed close together about a meter high. The area above this is covered with long pieces of leather stitched together and extending almost to the peak where the smoke from the hut fire can escape freely. With all this the Great Hut seems adequately closed; not a ray of light reveals to outsiders the doings of the men inside and not a current of air disturbs the quiet glow of the hut fire. Usually the wide entrance, kina ēlya, is open to the east because bad storms most often come from the west. It is no longer possible to determine whether the idea that this secret ceremony came into the Yamana territory from the east played any part in this arrangement. The entrance to the

X 575 345 /1324 cont./ Kloketen hut of the Selk'nam regularly faces east (Vol. I, 838).

In the interior of this Kina hut the actual resting places are now arranged in the following manner, unlike the čiẽxaus hut. Clumps of turf are put around the central open space for the fire, and they are stamped down with the feet as evenly as possible. A [824] layer of the long, broad-leafed grass /1325/ šűka (Poa flabellata), which is used in the ordinary dwellings (cf. p. 25), is often scattered on top, but it is permissible to use this grass only if the short, sharp-pointed pampas grass, mẽ[illegible]ka, cannot be obtained. The latter grows in bunches in open places, is very dry and hard, and scarcely 35 centimeters tall (274). A bunch of this grass can

> 274. Species of Calamagrostis are referred to here, which also flourish on the rocky coasts between stones. Cf. Spegazzini (d):84.

be pulled out only if one grasps it firmly and twists the roots. While the men are gathering many trunks and poles for the hut framework, the Kina leader directs the women and children to provide the necessary amount of grass; he tells them very definitely that they must bring in a great deal of mẽ[illegible]asuka (275).

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> 275. It is very remarkable that similarly in the Kloketen hut of the Selk'nam only this short, hard pampas grass is used for the men's resting place (Vol. I, 839).

On top of this layer of grass each man spreads his piece of leather on the place where he will sit throughout the entire festival.

X 575 353 It is noteworthy that this conical Great Hut for the Kina festival is specially decorated on the inside. All around the interior a red band as wide as three fingers is painted at the level of a man's head. Above that a white band of equal width is applied, and above that, a black one. All three are separated from each other by two spaces each as wide as a finger. These three bands, which serve as decorative painting, are symbolically interpreted as suggesting a rocky seacoast. The red color recalls the irregular stones on the beach, which are more or less thickly

/1325 cont./

X575 353 overgrown with red algae (Rhodophyceae): the white indicates the foam of the waves tossed over these stones; and the black signifies the many mussels that cling to the rocky coast in clusters. As though the Kina spirits, appearing out of the sea, were climbing up the coast, so the men masked as spirits appear from the Great Hut before the eyes of the women and children (276).

276. In this respect the Kloketen hut of the Selk'nam is quite different, for it has no decoration whatever in the interior (Vol. I, 839). On the other hand, the Great Hut for the men's festival of the Halakwulup is even more elaborately decorated than is that of the Yamana. Compare Gusinde (bb):346.

X575 345 Although the design described above for the hut of the Kina festival is followed throughout Yamana territory, the elongated dome shape which is chosen everywhere for the čiexaus hut is also permissible in the extreme west. The entrance on each of the narrow sides is made with two long, rather strong poles and is much wider and higher than in a čiexaus hut. The reason for this is obvious; the men wearing tall masks must be able to dance in and out comfortably. In the bordering southern territory of the Halakwulup the two shapes for the Kina hut are likewise used side by side, although the conical form is preferred. Farther north only the elongated dome shape is erected /1326/ (277).

277. In this connection compare Gusinde (q):288. Here in the west, a different kind of environment affects the shape of the ordinary huts used for dwellings, in contrast to the huts in the eastern part of the Yamana territory (p. 9). The use of this dome shape for the hut of the Kina festival, however, is also a result of cultural influence from the neighboring territory.

/1326 cont./

X575 345 It has previously been mentioned that the immediate area around the Great Hut must be smooth and even. To the left of this hut, or rather to the left of the wide entrance, kína éfya -- as seen by the spectators -- a passage two meters wide and ten meters long is cleared of grass and stones and made absolutely level. This is where the dancers who again and again appear from the Great Hut before the eyes of the camp inmates present themselves. The hut entrance is always away from the camp and is usually near the edge of the forest, whereas the dwellings are usually between the Kina hut and the beach. While the work of building the hut and arranging the interior is going on, a few men must drag up a quantity of thick logs and tree stumps until a considerable pile of firewood is stacked beside the Great Hut. The women cannot be entrusted with this because they would come too close to the secret gathering-place of the men. It takes a great deal of firewood to maintain a broad hut fire day and night.

X575 The length of time spent in preparation depends in each case upon several circumstances. Decisive factors at any time are the number of male participants and the convenience of the chosen locality. Once the men have been seized with a desire for the Kina performance and joyfully anticipate it, they fall to with a will and, even without a specific request from their leader, make every effort so that the actual affair may begin as soon as possible. Inclement weather, however, now and then causes considerable delays in the most essential preparations.

c. Procedure of the Festival

X575 562 The chief goal of the group of men at their Kina is to remind the female population anew of their superiority and to make all the women definitely feel their greater power. Consequently they surround their activities with all kinds of mystery and make very sure that the purposes behind their deceptive performances are not discovered by the women. They particularly avoid any situation that might arouse a suspicion of intentional deception. This secret gathering and illusory performance of the men is based

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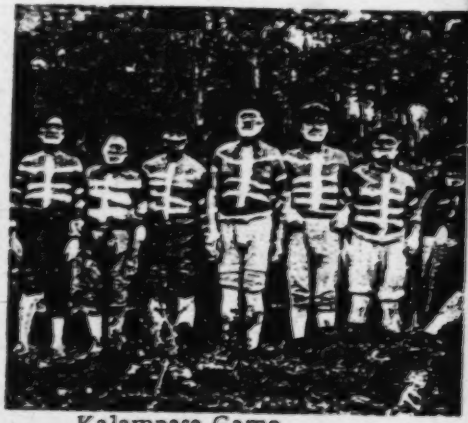
Kina Hut



Kalampasa Game

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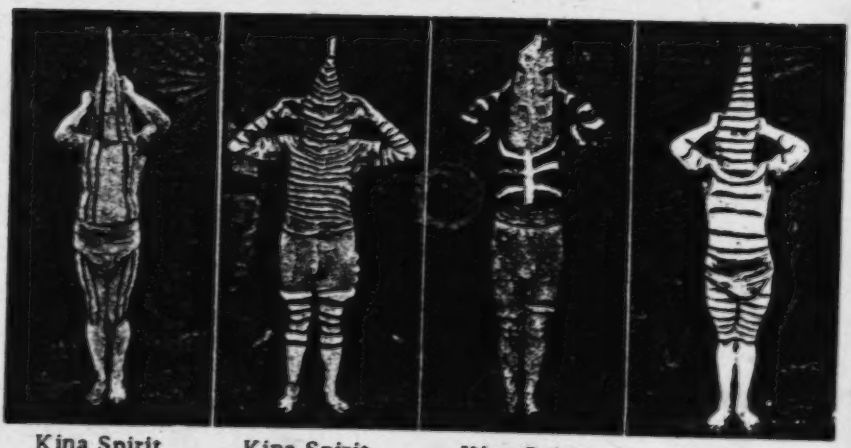

Kina Spirit Kina Spirit Kina Spirit Kina Spirit

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Ushuwaia at the Foot of Mount Olivia